1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

In this connection, it is quite remarkable to observe the collapse 763
into inertia that accompanies most internal illnesses. A person suffering 758
from headache, cold, influenza, diarrhea, or similar illness will mope
hopelessly in the house and be quite sure he is going to die. Kin usually [755]
rally around the sick person with a good deal of concern, and divinatory
omens are immediately sought. If these are unfavorable—and there is
never any thought of concealing the results from the patient—the de-
pression is naturally heightened. The patient will sit in the dark, smoke-
filled house without bathing, often refusing food, and getting no exercise
or fresh air for days at a time. These factors, particularly when combined
with a depressed state of mind, gave me the impression that it is quite
possible for certain Atimelangers to die with insufficient physical cause.
When the watchers hear the death rattle, they say of the person, "His 763
breath string is broken; already his dying is finished (*beaking tila sik;
uus moni kangri*)." Failing a death rattle, the cessation of heartbeats
and of breathing are also considered criteria of death.

In addition, a prolonged disintegration of normal conscious person-
ality such as occurs in delirium or coma is also considered the equiva-
lent of death. Signs of animation are thought to be simply manifestations
of an evil spirit who has caused the death and has now possessed himself
of the body. There is always a good deal of fear and distaste associated
with such a situation. Under such circumstances the advisable thing to
do is bury the body as expeditiously as possible. As a result people are
occasionally buried whom we would consider still living. At least
two such cases occurred in eighteen months, and Rilpadą's autobiog-
raphy gives a singularly matter-of-fact account of a near fate of the
same sort. When this concept was discussed with informants they re-
lated cases of people who still talked, but who were so dead that their
flesh had begun to rot away. From an Atimelanger's point of view this
is quite possible, since sick people never bathe or move from their sleep-
ing mats in the dark and often filthy living rooms. Under such circum-
stances any lesions could rapidly develop into extremely noxious infec-
tions.

The relation of such a concept of death to trance states is worth 756
considering. Among the seers of Atimelang it is assumed that in curing- 158
sfances their tutelaries perch on their shoulders and speak through their
mouths. The seer is supposedly unaware of what he is saying. This
might sound like a true trance condition. My observations, however,
lead me to suppose that seers were far from being in deep trances. Their
eyes were open, their movements and speech controlled and coherent,
and their muscular tone normal. Supernatural phenomena seem to be
the result of obvious sleight-of-hand tricks, which appear singularly

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

inept when compared to the shamanism of even such marginal areas as California. In other words, despite local theory, I observed nothing that impressed me as real possessionalism.*

There were also in Atimelang certain individuals who had attacks of hyperactivity. One of these was mentioned in connection with obscenity on page 157. Another case was of a woman who began shouting and joking in a loud and apparently compulsive fashion and sometimes accompanied her conversation with a rhythmic jumping up and down. On occasions of this sort people said that their familiars had risen within them (*betimang homin mirang*). This is the same phrase used in connection with seers. Such attacks usually provoke a good deal of amusement among younger people, but older ones are inclined to discourage any teasing or response that might prolong the attack.

Again from observation the attacks of hyperexcitability in these two women in no way suggested trance conditions. Accounts of people considered insane, which will be discussed later, gave no indication that they were in trance states. In other words, I very much doubt that deep trances occur except as rare individual aberrations. They are certainly not induced deliberately nor are they culturally prized. It is quite possible that real trances would be associated with the type of "death" that was thought to occur in delirium and coma, and such an association may have helped to check the introduction of such trances from other cultures. If such is the case, it would also serve to cut down the impressiveness, and therefore the potential power, of seers. Lastly, the danger of losing one's normal personality would seem to offer a possible explanation for the lack of interest shown by Atimelangers in intoxicants. The use of palm wine is known among the coastal peoples, and the requisite palm grows in the mountains; but the mountain peoples do not use it, or even indulge in palm wine during protracted visits to the coast.

It is also interesting that one case of possible suicide, a person who was obviously insane, revolved around this same theme of spirit possession and premature burial. I quote a detailed account for the light it throws on the subject.

The narration referred to an event that occurred about fifteen years ago and began with Fanseni's accidentally offending an evil spirit who lived near his maize field. Some two months later, when the maize was being carried back to his house for storage, signs of abnormality were first noted. Fanseni complained of a violent headache and refused to eat,

* A detailed study of the trance was not made. It is possible, of course, that seers were in a subtrance. By this I mean that conscious control is not lost, but that an emotional condition exists in which the person deliberately shuts out many external stimuli.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

although he gave his kinsmen a pig in payment for their help and as a final harvest feast. The next day he stayed in his house, and when his young nephews returned, among whom was Rilpada, he spoke to them in a garble of Malay and Abui, saying, "Respects, gentlemen; my children, come up. Are you happy or not? If you are happy, you may smoke up this whole tube of tobacco."

That night several male kin stayed to watch over him. In the course of the night Rilpada noticed that Fanseni in his sleep had taken off his loincloth and defecated. As Rilpada drew his father's attention to the act Fanseni awoke and shouted belligerently, "Who defecated? Ung! Who defecated? I deny these feces. Let us fight." Those present were badly frightened and shouted to the near-by villagers, "Don't be afraid. An evil spirit has risen in Fanseni, but do not be afraid." At this point two men came to lend the watchers assistance. As they approached they tried to frighten Fanseni by shooting arrows at the outer house wall but succeeded only in making him deny noisily that he was afraid. When the two men finally appeared in the doorway, they aimed an arrow directly at him. Fanseni at this point picked up a piece of firewood, held it against his crotch, then broke it in two, saying, "This is my penis. Give it to your children to eat. Perhaps they are crying of hunger." He then scattered the coals from the hearth about the room. Everyone was now assured that only an evil spirit was capable of such behavior, so Fanseni was securely lashed and left in the house. The others went below to spend the rest of the night. Fanseni slept but was aroused by Rilpada, who threw a stone at the house wall to tease him. Fanseni shouted that he knew Rilpada was guilty of the act—a fact, incidentally, that Rilpada brazenly denied. At this point Fanseni managed to burn through his lashings, so that he had to be bound more securely than ever.

In the morning as the others were roasting cassava, Fanseni pulled himself to the doorway and watched them. When asked if he were hungry he nodded his head in the affirmative. There was some debate about untying him to let him eat. The opposition said there was no use feeling an evil spirit; nevertheless, he was untied and offered a large piece of cassava, which he stuffed into his mouth all at once. This confirmed the suspicion that he was still possessed.

Then Fanseni said, "My father, Padalani, who is down below, calls. Let us go to him." Followed by the others, Fanseni slid down the trail on his buttocks, grasping a stick with which he swept the trail as he went. On the way, he interpreted the call of a bird as the voice of a guru, resident in Atimelang at the time. Also, he kept insisting that his

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

158 dead father was calling him. He came to a big stone and pretended to
787 catch a rat under it. Then he broke off a piece of stick, held it near his
828 crotch, and offered it to one of his guardians for his hungry children. The man who was the butt of this malice struck Fanseni's fingers only to have him say, "Eh, that's fine." Also, on the way down the slope Fanseni ate certain foods raw that are ordinarily cooked. A little later, without showing any signs of discomfort, he ate a raw tuber known to be extremely astringent.

158 Finally he reached his father's grave and there ordered the others to
787 dig his own grave just about two yards away. This they did. He then
828 gave them further orders, such as to fetch his shroud and eating plate
762 and to give his bow to a cousin. All these errands he assigned one at a time in order to have people run back and forth as much as possible. Finally he adjusted his shroud and got into the grave. He got out again, however, complaining that a stone in it made him uncomfortable and asking to have it removed. He got in once more and then asked to have his food plate placed next to his body under the shroud. One of the guardians asked, "Are you finished?" Fanseni answered, "I am through, so cover me up." People began shoving in the earth and Fanseni spoke for the last time, saying, "Now I am glad. Just now it was bad. That must not be. Now it is good."

When the earth completely covered his body, Fanseni moved. In a panic the buriers fetched two large stones and hastily dropped them on him before they finished filling in the grave. The whole event naturally frightened the villagers badly. For several nights they stopped
[775] up every nook and cranny of their houses to prevent Fanseni's spirit from entering and during the day frequently inspected his grave to make sure it was still undisturbed.

158 In the relative mildness of aggression and in the openly suicidal quality this case differs from three other cases of recognized insanity. It resembles the other cases in its obscenity. The suicidal quality in all
[689] these four cases must be recognized, however, since an uncontrollably violent person is apt to be killed. One woman, Matingmale, was actually killed by one of the victims of her destructiveness; another was spared only because of the intercession of her kin. The fourth case, a
[762] man, danced challenge in front of the government soldiers who came to avenge the murder of the radjah in 1918. Exposing one's body to bullets with only a carabao shield as protection can be interpreted only as suicidal in intent.

[787 828] All four of these instances were thought to be cases of spirit possession. If the diagnosis made so far about the lack of avenues for internal-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

158 She broke off corn, got into a pigpen and ate refuse with the animals,
787 and stole rice cones from a feast. Periods of excitability alternated with
828 periods of calm. In her last attack she went to other villages and continued her peculiar behavior. They tied her hands and sent her home, but she spent the whole night shouting and singing on the trail. The next morning she once more made sexual advances to an older man who threatened to kill her if her father did not fetch her. This sort of thing went on for four years, and the woman was finally killed while thieving in a garden. These attacks first appeared when she was about thirty-five, a year after the death of her husband. In her normal moments it was reported that she would hold her children in her arms and weep, saying, "This madness gives me much trouble."

The second woman's history and behavior are comparable. Lonmanima's attacks began by her open thieving of food when she was still an unmarried girl. She would steal eggs and sit eating them publicly. She would enter houses and snatch food from under people's eyes. At feasts she ran off with calabash serving plates full of meat. Despite these early outbursts she married and raised a family, during which time she appeared normal. Her difficulties returned when her children were grown. Her most characteristic tricks were grabbing up children and running off with them, and attacking people indiscriminately with clubs or stones. She lived with her married children. On occasion when they gave her food, she would throw it away and return her dish broken or filled with feces. She continued in this fashion until she was quite old. Finally, as an old woman, she was chased away from a field in which she had been destroying corn. As she ran she fell over a cliff and was killed. For years apparently she had had recurrences of her manic attacks during which people had threatened her with death or restrained her with bonds.

The third reported case of insanity was that of Makonmale. His first outbreak was reported to have occurred when he was a middle-aged man. He arrived in a neighboring village, singing at the top of his lungs, and, on reaching the dance place, he shouted challenge, brandished his sword, and shot arrows at people. He kept shouting that he was crazy. He annoyed the inhabitants of two or three villages in this fashion, and when people threatened to kill him and sell his head, he dared them to proceed. In addition to this type of aggressive behavior he also tried quite openly to catch young women and rape them. Whenever he was finally caught and bound, he would calm down after a time and seem very depressed. He apparently had long periods of lucidity during which he carried on his affairs in a normal and successful fashion. In his

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

manic behavior there was much sly humor. In fact, all of these cases were frequently sources of considerable amusement to bystanders.

Probably all these persons were of the manic-depressive type. This psychosis is much more obvious and socially disturbing than certain other mental illnesses, which may account for the emphasis on them. Whether or not the individual's behavior is correctly reported, it is interesting that informants all stress as symptoms of insanity violence, both against people and property, obscenity, and scatologic behavior.

To summarize and to repeat the linkage among all the phenomena so far discussed, we find that spirit possession is associated with hyperexcitability and in its severer forms with manic episodes containing only poorly disguised suicidal impulses, although suicide is not institutionalized. Further, spirit possession in certain types of illness is interpreted as death and leads to the burial of live persons. All these factors may serve to keep toned down the avowedly possessional faculties of seers so that there is considerable doubt about true trance and a general lack of impressiveness in seers' performances, which, in turn, may be factors contributing to their lack of marked social recognition. Lastly, the attitudes and dangers clustering around spirit possession may explain the resistance to intoxicants.

BURIAL

All these digressions lead finally to actual behavior connected with death and burial. When a person dies, the male lineal kin set out immediately to secure the shroud and as many contributions as possible in mokos, gongs, pigs, and food. The shroud will be worn after death by the deceased. This is part of his postmortem prestige, but since cloth is at a premium, this debt will have to be repaid at high interest rates, and around the shroud in future years will center most of the haggling for repayment. Forehanded kinsmen of the proper category see to it that they are prepared with a shroud of high value. Their eyes are on future profit. As a result the best pieces of cloth in the community are being continually put out of circulation. With the onset of death the female kin begin to prepare rice and corn. Not more than one or two women stay near the corpse to wail.

The spouse of the deceased is felt to be in so much danger from the dead that he leaves the immediate vicinity and stands guard with unsheathed knife, to prevent the ghost from carrying him off. For the following night and day he should not sleep. (These precautions are observed by both sexes.) Burial usually occurs not more than twenty-four to thirty-six hours after death, and it is courteous of friends to rush the procedure by urging the family on with comments about the stench of the body.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

makes its appearance as an expression of the development of those reaction formations and identifications by which their primary lack of self-restraint is overcome and their adjustments are guaranteed. We have to conclude, therefore, that the lack of the FC, i.e., the lack of responsiveness, is as much a part of their being and existence as their egocentricity, which is expressed by the large number of CF in their tests. They are normal under their own conditions but would not be so under ours. I am not surprised. A Russian, who might be diagnosed as a schizophrenic in Switzerland because of his social conduct and behavior, his failure to make social adjustments, would not inevitably be spotted as a schizophrenic in the social and cultural conditions of his own country, which are so organized that he would have protective coloration. There is more than one example of this type in Dostoyevsky's novels.

I have mentioned more than once the similarity between the Rorschachs of the Alorese and the pathological findings of traumatics, some neurotics, and some schizophrenics. The Alorese, of course, are none of these; nor are they epileptics, although their color reactions are comparable. No one of these diagnoses can hold its ground when we know everything about their tests; it is only a more or less remote analogy. The Alorese Rorschachs are something *sui generis*.

The most interesting comparison is with some neurotics, specifically those with anxiety hysteria. Do neuroses occur among the Alorese? Among the males, one (Johanis) shows some neurotic manifestations in his Rorschach; he is a sadistic pervert or, at least, as much perverse as neurotic. The other sixteen men and the twenty women show no neurotic manifestations, such as color-shock or other signs of neurotic repressions; at best they show signs of more or less conscious suppression (see Mangma the Genealogist). This is a strikingly small number of neurotic individuals, much too small for any European and American cross-section. The ethnographer certainly did not debar neurotics from the test. Neurotics, therefore, are undoubtedly not a common phenomenon among the Alorese. This coincides with what we learn from the rest of their test findings. There are no indications of sublimation or of sublimational tendencies. Their color reactions, for instance, reveal in their crudeness (*Massigkeit*) no elaboration or touching up. The Alorese are evidently too much given up to their instincts (*triebnah*) and have too great a capacity for abreaction to produce neurotic symptoms by way of repression and regression. For the same reasons there seems to be no room for the occurrence of real depression and suicide. As I

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

[157] said before, they are resigned and drooping without being depressed.
[158] What amount of nonpathological repressions they have established cannot be gathered from their tests.

The similarity that most strikes the eye, and is again not without theoretical interest, is that between the Alorese findings and those of many traumatics whose condition is the result of skull and brain injuries. The similarity lies chiefly in the great number of small details (Dd) and the black-white interpretations (bl-wh) which they have in common. Both the Dd and the bl-wh may be missing in the Alorese and the traumatics. The Dd then are replaced by whole answers (W) or, rather, answers that start from the normal or small details and generalize the interpretation (DW and DdW). The bl-wh are missing in the tests of seven Alorese — four men and three women, two of whom show no color reactions at all. Among the four males are Mangma the
[159] Genealogist with 2 CF, the tumukun with 4 CF and 2 C, Johanis with 2 CF and 4 C — all of whom show marked features of activity in their character and behavior — and Fantan the Interpreter with 3 CF. I refer to my blind diagnoses in the chapter which follows. Malelaka, once very active as a "prophet," comes next, showing, besides 2 CF and 1 C, 1 blF interpretation.

Besides the Dd and the bl-wh, the similarity extends to most of the other experimental factors — the poor forms, the bad apperceptive modes and the loosened sequence, and the lack of scarcity of kinesthesias (M). But more than that, we saw that the Alorese share with the traumatics the passive element which is the core of the significance of their black-white interpretations; and this means more than merely surface similarity. Have the Alorese fared so badly (*stiefmütterlich behandelt*) that they, like a kind of crippled individual, show a reaction type in their Rorschachs similar to that of traumatic encephalopathy and traumatic dementia? This question will arise again before long. It is certain that in the tests of children the black color often means passivity and implies a damper superimposed on affectivity.

And what of the small details (Dd), the large number of which makes it so hard and wearisome to work on the Alorese tests? In traumatics the Dd mean dodging more difficult achievements, such as giving whole interpretations and going in for the simpler and easier ones for which the patients feel a match.* For this reason the greater part of their Dd are well perceived. By contrast the Dd of the Alorese,

* E. Oberholzer, "Zur Differentialdiagnose psychischer Folgezustände nach Schädeltraumen mittels des Rorschachschen Formdeutversuchs." *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie*, 136:596-629, 1931.